difficulties in the way of emancipation.

This has been the effect of men holding the opinion This has been the effect of men holding the opinions of the gentlemen from Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, (Messra. MANN and STEVENS,) and publishing them, as they have. Emancipation was going on daily; but not so now. Northern gentlemen who can understand how the whole of their section can be excited by passing a resolution declaring you shall not petition for any thing and every thing, can also understand how denunciation, threats, and impudent interference with our rights can excite our people to a feeling of resistance. That feeling has caused them to oppose emancipation.

Six Leventher well, when we had negro meeting-houses, ance. That feeling has caused them to oppose emancipation. Sir, I remember well when we had negro meeting-houses, and negro preachers, some of whom could read and write well; but your philanthropists—those men who would rather look on rivers of blood than that slavery should be extended one inch, and have such horror of chains, shackles, and des potism—sent incendiary documents among our slaves, exciting them to insurrection. As an inevitable result, education was forbidden. Self protection required it; protection for the slaves required it. And this is another fruit of your sympathy for the slave! But we do not deny them religious instruction In one town in my district the negroes have a clergyman their own, and their own church—a Methodist church. wish Northern gentlemen could see them, neatly dressed, with thern gentlemen could see them, neatly dressed, with cheerful faces, as they are going to worship. I wish they could hear their heart-rejoicing songs, when they sing praises to their Maker. They would think better of slaveholders and less of abolitionists. Our people regard slaves as property, but not as cattle raised for market.

Meeting houses are scattered all over our country, and our negroes attend worship as their masters do. Many of them are members of those highly respectable denominations, Bap ists and Methodists; and when their masters live in very retired situations, clergymen are employed in some instances, who preach to the slaves and instruct them in their religious duties in chapels on the farms. I know of, I am proud to say, one such in my district. I know of another instance, where a large slaveholder, living out of the reach of a church, has a minister of one denomination employed by the year to preach to his negroes—and that minister not of the same church of which the master is a member. These masters are good men, and are looking forward to the account they hereafter to give for their treatment of those who are ced under their care. Yes, sir; and one such man does more acts of benevolence in one year than a thousand of your fanatics who lecture on the evils of slavery. These slavenanatics were regard their negroes as human beings, in whose nos trils God has breathed the breath of life, in whose bosom trils God has breathed the breath of life, in whose bosoms He has implanted a living soul, and they treat them accordingly. Many of our slaveholders are from Yankee land. Many own slaves who purchased them to prevent their separation from their families.

I tell these abolitionists, you are the men who have riveted the chains." But for your efforts, thousands of slaves would have been educated and emancipated, would have been educated and emancipated, would have been educated and emancipated.

have been returned to Africa; and Liberia, under the influ of the Christian religion, would have realized what the Psalmist said : "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands

Slavery is an evil—we know it. It is an evil to the white man. No laboring population in any country, except our own Northern people, are so well taken care of, so well supplied with all the necessaries of life, as our slaves are Whatever of evil there is in slavery has been increased by the agitation of abolitionists, those miserable wretches who denounce us constantly—those sincere disunionists, who say the American Union is a "covenant with death" and an " agreement with hell," and ought to be "immediately" dis-solved. These men are sometimes courted by both parties of solved. These men are sometimes courted by both parties of the North, in doubtful contests, and therefore made to appear stronger than they really are. These are they who have inreased the evils of slavery.

But let them alone; in a few years more they will be

universally despised, and they "will be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of

Our people are denounced as a bloodthirsty generation. or two facts. Our laws punish with death any one who is guilty of stealing a slave, or of concealing him with the intent to enable him to escape. Two cases have been tried within three years in my district. One was an Irishman, a tailor, little over twenty-one years of age, who was, upon testimony too clear to be disputed, proved guilty. He had not been many years in the United States, and those eleven was a state of the contraction. slaveowners who were on the jury unanimously recommend-ed him to the executive elemency, which was approved by a slaveholding judge, and he was pardoned by a slaveholding governor. The petition to the governor was signed by the good man who owned the slave. He had slaveowners for his counsel, of his own selection, who received no pay; and I am happy to know this man afterwards distinguished himself in Mexico with that gallantry for which the Irish are remarkable. The other case occurred within a year past. An Irish sailor boy came to the seaport town in which I reside. A runaway slave was found on board after the vessel had started on her voyage. He was arrested and brought to trial. He was a stranger, pennyless, and without an acquaintance or friend. He had counsel of his own choice, staveholders, who detended him without reward, or the hope of reward in this world. The jury of slaveholders, far above the influence of prejudice excited by the source of the above the influence there was a possibility that this boy, not eighteen years old, was the dupe of some other person, acquitted him. He was discharged, and treated as kindly in that community as one

these are the people whom the abolitionists vilify as being fond of manacles, chains—as despots.

But I must harry on. One word as to the Wilmot provise

I shall not discuss the constitutional question; the subject is worn out. It would be as great an outrage to the Southern people to enact it as if it were constitutional. The Southern people, with great unanimity, believe as I do, that to enact people, with great unanimity, peneve as a too pross injustice and the Wilmot proviso would be "an act of gross injustice and a member of And though, as a private citizen and a member of our State Legislature, I have opposed the suggestion of a dis-solution of the Union, should it be adopted, yet I believe the people of my State will feel called upon, if it is enacted in any law this session, to consult in a State convention, if it is time to inquire whether our Northern brethren intend to regard us as equals or to treat us with unkindness? What-ever North Carolina does I shall abide by. She will not, without great cause of complaint, be driven to think of dis-union. I belive the minds of a large majority of both parties there regard with horror the thought of disunion; but if your here impresses upon the minds of her people that you are unfriendly to us, she will, without bluster or threats, provide for her honor and security in such manner as the world will justify. I will not believe you will enact the Wilmot proviso; there is no necessity for it. I have too good an opinion of our Northern members to believe it. All admit opinion of our Northern memoers to believe the or prohibit slavery. Then there is no practical question at issue. The Northern States are stronger than the Southern; but I hope they will remember though it is "excellent to have a giant's strength, it is tyramnous to use it as a giant." And nnous legislation must produce sectional animosities. While on this subject I wish to say a few words to my col-

league (Mr. CLINGMAN) upon the constitutional question. I wish I had time to read at length some extracts from his speech; but I have not; I will print them.
From Mr. CLINGMAN's speech, December 22, 1847, on the slavery question, (Appendix to Congressional Globe, 30th Congress, 1st session:)

Congress, 1st session:)

"I am now brought, Mr. Chairman, to the direct consideration of the great question, as to the extent of the powers and duties of Congress in relation to slavery in the Territories of the United States. Upon this subject a distinguished politician from the South, (Mr. Calhoun,) in the other wing of this building, some twelve months since, laid down certain doctrines which are, in substance, as near as I can remember them, these: The Territories of the United States, being the on property of the Union, are held by Congress in trus use and benefit of all the States and their citizens. Se for the use and benefit of all the States and their citizens. Secondly, that Congress has no right to exclude, by law, any citizens of the United States from going into any part of said Territories, and carrying with them and holding any such property as they are allowed to hold in the States from which they come. This view, though perhaps plausible at the first glance, is really the most shallow and superficial that could possibly be presented. Admitting the first general proposition to be true, (and no fair mind can question it,) that the Territories of the United States are held by Congress in trust for the use and benefit of all the States and their citizens, I wm free to confeas that if Congress should see that it was most advantageous to allow all the citizens to occupy the territory in common with the property, it doubtless ought so to provide. But it is equally clear that it, on the other hand, Congress should see that all the cit zens of the United States could not thus advantageously occupy all the territory in common, it might divide tageously occupy all the territory in common, it might divide the same so as to assign certain portions to particular classes or persons."

or persons."
Again; "All the power that can be exercised belongs to Con-Again; "All the power that can be exercised belongs to Congress alone. Congress has power to make all needful rules and regulations. But the wants of all communities are, in legal contemplation, the same. The wants of the territories may be, and in fact are, just as great as those of the States. It seems to me, then, Mr. Chairman, with due deference to those who have given the subject greater consideration than I have been able to do, that Congress, in legislating for the territories, is controlled only by the constitution of the United States. It is equally true, however, that the people of the several States are likewise controlled by this constitution. Whether acting in convention, or through their ordinary legislative governments, they can do nothing contrary to it.

convention, or through their ordinary legislative governments, they can do nothing contrary to it.

"Congress, then, has over the territory just such powers as its Legislature would have after it became a State. Both are controlled by the constitution of the United States, the supreme law of the land. As this constitution is silent in relation to slavery, it has been argued on the one hand that Congress can do nothing to exclude it from the territory. On the other hand, it is asserted, with equal confidence, that for the same reason there is no power to establish the institution. These two opposite views are worthy antagonists, and I shall leave them to contend, not fearing that either will ever obtain a victory over the other."

"IF, THEN, CONGRESS FOSSESSES GENERAL LEGISLATIVE

THEN, CONGRESS POSSESSES GENERAL LEGISLATIVE POWERS OVER THE TERRITORIES, AS I CONTEND, IT IS IBLE TO DENT THAT SLAVERY MAY EITHER BE PERMITTED OR FORBID-

In another part of my colleague's speech, he gives utter-ance to opinions rather contradictory to those just quoted.

urn with mischievous intentions; and legislation threw The inconsistency is glaring; but it is fairer, upon such a subject, to quote it than to withhold it :

subject, to quote it than to withhold it:

"I do not pretend that any section of the Union can insist fairly that territory should be acquired for her benefit. We are doubtless all bound, in good faith, to adhere to the Constitution and Union, with such boundaries as it had when we became parties to it. But I do say, that if the Government should acquire territory, it takes it under the constitution for the benefit of all; and a decree that any section or its citizens shall be excluded from all such territory, would be as great a violation of the constitution as the Government could possibly commit. Such is substantially this proposed exclusion of slavery from all the territories hereafter to be acquired."

If the author of this speech means any thing, it must be this, that, after territory is acquired, "Congress possesses general legislative powers," and slavery may either be permitted or forbidden to exist there; but if Congress shall decree that slavery shall be excluded "from all the territories hereafter to be acquired," it will be as great a violation of the constitution as the Government could possibly commit! Sir, I cannot under-Government could possibly commit! Sir, I cannot understand how these views can exist in the same mind at one and the same time. It looks as if one part of the speech was addressed to a Whig Buncombe and another part to a Democratic Buncombe; one to the Eastern Buncombe and the other to the Western Buncombe. It reminds me of a verse I read somewhere in my youth, made by one just beginning to write verses—and his first should have been his last—who described a first on the water, and wrote. lescribed a fight on the water, and wrote:

"The stranger and his crew then stormed the boat, And all at once jumped in, and all at once jumped out." And further, upon the constitutional question my colleague argued, very properly, that there could be no difficulty; for, speaking of the Missouri compromise, he said:

"There was, however, a settlement made at length, upon terms which, though unequal to the South, were not at variance with the spirit of the Constitution."

My colleague is regarded now, in some parts of the South

My colleague is regarded now, in some parts of the South, even in South Carolina, as very sound upon the slavery question. I have been denounced as unsound, for entertaining precisely the same opinions as my celleague does.

And upon the general justice of the duty of the General Government to protect slave property, I desire, in passing, to say I heard with pleasure the able and statesmanlike argument of the gentleman from Georgis, (Mr. Tooxus.) made here a few days ago. It gives me more pleasure to add my feeble tribute of commendation to this speech—though I do not agree in all the gentleman said—because the gentleman's opposition to his own friends, and his course in this House. on to his own friends, and his course in this House

opposition to his own friends, and his course in the flower, before we were organized, met with my decided condemnation.

And while this is in mind, I will beg to say one word to another gentleman from Georgia, (Mr. STEPHENS.)

Before we were organized that gentleman was understood to call down curses on all those who would not stand up for the condemnation. their section. I made allowance for the gentleman's excited feelings, but I heard the remark with pain. I had read his eloquent speeches with profit and with pleasure, and I had anticipated the pleasure of doing my duty here under his lead; and when he and his friends who acted with him, (Messrs. COOMBS, HILLIARD, and others,) in the Southern caucus voted sgainst Mr. Calhoun's Southern Address, and did not "stand up for a section," I approved their conduct. When he, and the estimable and highly talented gentleman, my preecessor, (Mr. Donnell,) and six other Southern gentle were denounced as traitors for voting to lay Clayton's comwere denounced as traitors for voting to lay Clayton's compromise bill on the table, I defended their course. And without having had an opportunity, in the midst of professional pursuits, to examine that bill, I defended their conduct at home, from my knowledge of their character, and justified their not standing up "for a section." According to Mr. Calhoum's platform of amending the constitution, even the Senator from Mississippi, (Mr. Foote,) we have within a day or two heard, cannot stand up with Mr. C. for his section. Our worthy Speaker in that Southern Convention could not stand up according to the address for "his section." could not stand up according to the address for "his section."
He thought the doughfaces had not had justice done them—
the address was against the whole North. The author of that address, who endeavored to excite the public mind, only recommended to the South "to be united;" but has recently, by his ultraism, disunited them, and I should be glad to know which side the Nashville Convention will take; and I should e glad to be informed why those who censure others for not tanding up for a section did not vote for a Southern Speaker. when the contest was between a Northern and Southern Speaker. But I hope the gentleman from Georgia will come back, and let the whole country have the aid of his abilities; and I express now the wish that was in my mind when the gentleman invoked his curses-I hope "the accusing spirit blushed as he gave it in, and the recording angel dropped a tear upon the word, and blotted it out forever."

A single word to the gentleman from Florida, (Mr. Ca-

BELL,) who took part against his friends in the early part of the session. I hope, before he aids to bring about dissolution, he will see that his constituents can take care of the Indians at home, without the aid of the General Government. I desire to notice, very briefly, a few remarks of my colleague's speech delivered this session. There are some por-tions of my colleague's remarks which I hope were uttered tions of my colleague's remarks which I hope were uttered without due consideration. He spoke of a "collision as inevitable, and the sconer it comes the better." What kind of collision did he mean? He made statements of the "existing revenue system operating hardly on the South." How? Does he mean the Democratic British tariff of 1846? And ments, in greater increase of population, more wealth, and this poverty and crime, we have reason to regard our people as prosperous and happy." Then, I ask, how does the existing revenue system operate hardly upon us? for my col-league says: "Nor is it true we are poorer than the North, for the slaveholding States are much richer, in proportion to

their population, than the free."

I should be glad to know what facts has my colleague discovered to cause him to change his opinions on the tariff ques-tion. In his speech, delivered this session, he used some phrases that I think I have heard from Mr. Calhoun and Mr. McDurfie; but in 1844 my colleague made a speech, in which he avowed opinions that did him honor. ome quotations before me from that speech, which I will

Extract from Mr. CLINGMAN's speech, (from the Appendix Congressional Globe, 28th Congress, first session :) "We [the Whigs] are in favor of such a tariff as will produce all the revenue necessary to the support of the Govern-ment, economically administered, without the money arising from the sales of the public lands."

He was opposed to a "horizontal tariff," by which, I suppose, he meant the compromise act of 1833, or the South Carolina tariff. In 1844 my colleague advocated "incidental protection to our manufacturers and artisans, to sustain our own industry against the oppressive regulations of others, and counteract, as far as practicable, the hostile restrictions of foreign nations." Good Whig doctrine. My colleague took then "a common-sense practical view of this question. We have had theory and parade enough on it." What theory, except the South Carolina theory, that the "existing revenue system operates hardly on the South ?"

In 1844, when this speech was delivered, the tariff of 1842 was in operation. The tariff of 1846 is said by its friends to be "a free-trade tariff." I say it is a tariff for the benefit English labor. How could my colleague advocate the tariff of 1842, and think the existing system "operates hardly on the South ?" How his opinions have changed since 1844, when he thus

spoke of the tariff of 1842 . This favorable state of our finances has been pro

thus far, without any practical injury having resulted to any section of the country. Not only cotton, but all of our other productions, command a better price than they did before the passage of the tariff; while foreign articles which we import and consume are generally cheaper, I believe I might say invariable so."

And upon this tariff, which is spoken of in some portion of the Southern country as an "aggression on the South," I wish I had time to read an extract from a speech of as true-hearted a Scuthern gentleman as breathes, from one of spot-less reputation, and whose high talents and character have shed honor on his country. I will print some extracts from

Extract from the speech of Mr. Berrien, of Georgia, April 9th, 1844—(Appendix to the Congressional Globe, 28th

Mr. BERRIEN was referring to the charge that the South was "oppressed." He said he was "speaking as a South-ern man," and he was disputing the charge that there was suffering. He might have been accused of not "standing up for his section ;" but he argued as follows :

"It is a mere question of fact, and I answer it by affirming what I presume no one will deny, that there is a sensible, of vious improvement in the condition of the country since August, 1842. Whether it be because the tariff of that year, or in spite of it, I repeat, is not a subject of my present inquiry. I am dealing with fact, not theory; and these things I take to be undeniable in the comparison between the two periods.

dealing with fact, not theory; and these things I take to be undeniable in the comparison between the two periods.

"1. The credit of the Government was prostrate, and it has been redeemed. Its bills were protested. Its treasury notes were below par. It sought a loan, and could not obtain it, either here or in Europe, but upon terms which were humiliating to a great sation. It could not go into the market and house the market and house the market and house the market and house the market and the market and house the market and h and borrow money upon terms as favorable as would be ac-corded to a responsible individual. All this has been changed. Its stock is above par. The Government has ample means to meet its current expenditures, and such is now its credit that it could command on loan any amount of money it might

require.

"2. The treasury was empty. It is now replenished, has an increasing income probably adequate to its wants, and the means, if need be, of adding to it.

"3. The commerce and navigation of the country have in-

operating alike on my constituents and myself, and upon me, personally, to the whole extent of the productive property which I possess. A little reflection, however, relieves me from apprehension. I know that any tax which the Government. foreign producer must bear his proportion of it in the diminished profits of capital. I know that the price of Southern produce has not fallen since these duties were imposed. I know, too, that the price of articles of Southern consumption have not risen, but have been sensibly diminished."

I shall surely not be blamed for an unwillingness to believe that the existing system of revenue operates hardly on the South and West; and again I ask, why could not such a man as William Gaston-why cannot our Grahams and More-

neads—see this oppression?

I shall never forget a spee get a speech I heard from North Carolina's most distinguished son—Gaston—in the earlier part of my life. It was, I think, at a Union meeting, after North Carolina had been called the "Rip Van Winkle of the South," because she would not nullify an act of Congress. "Better far better," said Mr. Gaston, "be called the Rip Van Wir kle of the South, than the Cariline of the historian, or the 'Captain Bobadil of the poet—better sleep on forever, than 'wake to treason or disunion." These words were from the son of one whose father's blood was shed by the enemies of his country; they were from the heart and lips of a patriotic Christian gentleman, who was long honored by my native State, and whose memory is still cherished by all her true-hearted sons. His mostal regards a concess within the borders of that ed sons. His mortal remains repose within the borders of that town in which these "words that burn" were spoken—it is a

town in which these "words that burn" were spoken—it is a part of the country I represent. When I forget the applause these sentiments met with from that people, I shall forget them; and when I do that, my "tongue will cleave to my mouth, and my right hand lose her cunning."

But my colleague complains of the amount of money expended at the North, and he says: "North Carolina, for example, is burdened to the extent of not less than three millions, and yet does not get back one hundred thousand dollars in any way from the Government. The clear loss in a pecuniary point of view, on account of the action of in a pecuniary point of view, on account of the action of the Government, may be set down at three millions annually. The Southern States generally are in the same con-

Now, I cannot imagine how my colleague calculates this three millions of borden. I fear it is, to use his own words, a "want of accurate knowledge of all the facts renders it impossible to determine precisely the effect which our revenue

system produces."
I should be glad to see these "facts" stated. I suspect my colleague is as much mistaken in this calculation as he is in the number of fugitive slaves escaping from a "few counties in Maryland." He said, "a few counties in Maryland had, within six months, upon computation, lost one hundred thousand dollars' worth."

He is surely mistaken. A Senator from South Carolin (Mr. BUTLER) said that "thirty thousand dollars' worth of slaves were stolen from Kentucky annually;" and he added, "the loss to the people of the slaveholding States may be estimated at two hundred thousand dollars annually. Whose computation is right? And my colleague says Delaware loses "one hundred thousand dollars worth of slaves each year." My colleague makes the loss of a "few counties in Maryland," and the loss of the State of Delaware, as great as Mr. BUTLER thinks is the loss of the "slaveholding tates;" and yet the members from Kentucky, Delaware, and Maryland do not threaten to dissolve the Union.

But the complaint is, a small amount of money is expended at the South. Whose fault is this? Mr. Tyler vetoed a bill that contained an approp twenty thousand dollars for the improvement of Cape Fear river. And when Congress made an appropriation of fifty thousand dollars for opening Roancke inlet, on the coast of North Carolina, Mr. Tyler pocketed the bill. Is this aggression? It was an outrage, and well-becoming a strict con-structionist of the school of 1798 and 1799. This is a work of inestimable value to a large portion of my State. I hope to live to see it perfected. The people in mine and my colleague's (Mr. Outlaw) district will soon hold a convention elative to this subject-a convention not to dissolve the Union, but to open a communication by which we can reach New York by steam in a few hours, to facilitate our intercourse, and bind us together indissolubly. Virginia politicians have opposed this work, and will oppose it. Open this amunication, and, in the event of domestic rebellion, we should speedily have thousands of New Yorkers-with whom our intercourse is now so frequent and so friendly-brought

on the wings of steam, ready to stand by us.

Let not gentlemen complain of the North on this score.

When these internal-improvement questions arise, I will promise to bring ten—yes, twenty—Whigs or Democrats from the North or West, for any Southern Democrat my colleague My colleague, when speaking of the possibility of a disso

" Subjecting the goods of the North to a duty with those both the reasons assigned are much stronger in our case. I

has already been proved that we can man of goods more cheaply than the North." What would the "free-trade" gentlemen of the South say Would not South Carolina be oppressed by that to that ? tariff law?

But we are to have "English capital." England is ell satisfied with the tariff of 1846 to lend us money to enable us to impose duties on "other foreign countries." England! who forbade our forefathers to manufacture, who hes any man who induces an artisan to leave her shores end us capital! In 1844 my colleague had "no reliance or the sincerity of the British Government." Then he said "England, who had abolished slavery in her West India islands, was seeking to interfere with the institution in other countries." I do not believe our people will be in love with

My colleague spoke of the "other acquisitions of territory" be made " after the next Presidential election.

I do not understand what this means. I hope he does no mean that we are to engage in foreign war again, as was in-timated in the Baltimore Convention by Mr. Hannegan—that we should annex Yucatan and Cuba. I thought the defeat of General Cass had secured us from the dread of such horrid equences. I advocated General TAYLOR's election upon the ground that he was opposed to foreign war. Are we to forbid New Mexico to become a free State, if she prefers it? How far are we to go before we consent to allow a free State to exist south of us? Must we have "every man's land that joins our own ?" There is but one other portion of my colleague's remarks

to which I will advert:

"Have not prominent Northern politicians, of the highest positions and the greatest influence, whose names are well known to all gentlemen on this floor, already declared that there is nothing in the constitution of the United States which obstructs, or ought to obstruct, the abolition of slavery by Congress in the States."

My colleague is better acquainted with politicians than I

am; but I do not know any Northern politicism who has avowed such an opinion. Even the Buffalo Convention did not go that far. Again, he says:

not go that far. Again, he says:

"In twenty-five years, if we are surrounded by free States,
the condition of the South would be 'that of Ireland; and
soon, by the destruction of the remnants of the white population, become that of St. Domingo.' And he adds: 'Northern men not only admit it, but constantly in their public
speeches avow it to be their purpose to produce this very
state of things."

Sir, I must deny this-my colleague is greatly mistaken. Since I read his speech I have inquired, and I am proud to say I have been unable to learn, when Northern men, or one single Northern man, ever avowed so atrocious a sentiment. I can bear of no such man. Surely such a wretch never con taminated this place.

I never heard of but one man so wicked as to think withhorror of insurrection in the Southern States, and he was a Van Buren Democrat from Ohio, (Benjamin Tappan, former Senator.)

My colleague spoke with contempt of those who he "insane and senseless cry of Union, Union." He was 'disgusted" at it. This disgust is but two years old. In December, 1847, thus spoke my colleague :

In December, 1847, thus spoke my colleague:

"It would be vain, however, for us on either side to hope for such prosperity as we have hitherto enjoyed. If the stream of our national existence should be divided, each branch must roll a diminished volume, and would be able only to bear a lesser burden. Such a separation would be the saddest of all partings. We should feel that our way was lonely, like that of Hagar in the desert—desolate as the wanderings of our first parents, when crime had just begun," &c., &c.

Very handermely in the same strain.

Very handsomely in the same strain: "We have a community of interest, which it would seem that no party madness could break up. We have, too, recol-lections of the past, which, to American feelings, are stronger even than calculations of interest." This was neither insane nor senseless, but rational and sen-

sible, and well becoming a Representative of the old North A single word as to California: This will be a "test

question." The "California proviso" one gentleman from Alabama (Mr. INGE) denounced. What is it but declaring that the people of each State shall have a right to decide for

"3. The commerce and navigation of the country have increased.

"4. Its agricultural condition has improved.

"5. There has been a marked improvement in the price of our great staple."

"6. A reduction of prices of almost all, if not absolutely of every article of consumption."

"7. To crown the whole, every branch of industry has been stimulated to increased activity, and confidence has been restored.

"Mr. President, it is pressed upon us in this argument that the act of 1842 imposes undue and peculiar burdens on Southern industry—on the planting interest of the South. This, sir, is to me an awakening suggestion, the burden, if it exists,

"Slavery is a domestic institution. It belongs to the States, each for itself, to decide whether it shall be established or not; and if it be established, whether it should be abolished

The Southern Address, also, in referring to the Missou uestion in 1819, censures those who advocate amendment having for their object to make it a condition of her admis

awing for their object to make it a condition of her admission that her constitution should have a provision to prohibit slavery." The Address states:

"Those who objected to the amendment rested their opposition on the high ground of the right of self-government. They claimed that a territory having reached the period when it is proper for it to form a constitution and government for itself, becomes fully vested with all the rights of self-government. for itself, becomes fully vested with all the rights of self-government," &c.

The Address argues, further, that to assume that Congres had a right to require any thing but that the Government must be republican, "would be tantamount to the assumption of the right to make its entire constitution and government." I commend this Address to those Democratic members who are talking of the " California proviso."

I believe, Mr. Chairman, if we reject the application California for admission as a State, it will be productive of the most calamitous consequences. It will raise a sectional feeling throughout this broad land that may never be allayed. I cannot vote against her admission for any reason I have yet heard. I do not see how any one can make her admission a "test question" who does not wish to bring about a dissolu-tion of the Union. As a Southern man I want her admit-ted—the sooner the better. I advocated the election of our present Chief Magistrate, "not merely as a Whig, but as the great representative and champion of the principle of the right of man to self-government." I will not consent to remand her; her people are, most of them, our own citizens. There might be danger of our compelling her to form a government without our aid. She will, I trust, soon be one of us. If no other Southern man votes as I do, I will vote for the admission of California. Dead or alive, (as an Irishman A single word upon the question of territorial governments: I see no plan better than that recommended by the President,

and I shall cordially support it. I have no time for much argument, but will only present a few questions, and conclude. As a Southern man, I feel indignant at the instances of violated faith, and disregard of constitutional obligations on the part of some of our Northern States, relative to fugitive slaves. But I believe, from all I can see and hear, that they will do us justice in this respect. But is a dissolution of the Union to remedy this evil? Will

not a separation greatly increase it? If the Union is dissolved will abolition societies be dead? Far from it.

What is to become of all the property owned by the United States? What of all the money in the hands of the disbursing officers? Where will all the office holders go? There will be the voice of amentation heard in old Virginia that day! But, independent of all considerations of interest, I believe the peo-ple of the Oli Dominion are truly attached to the Union. They ought to be. Her sons have "ruled its destinies." They have had a full share of its honors and offices. Sir, l

They have hat a full share of its honors and offices. Sir, I believe there are office-holders enough, natives of Virginia, to whip any army of disunionists that can be raised in the State.

Why did not the Southern Democracy, who now talk of disunion, take care to provide in the Oregon bill, and other bills containing the Wilmot proviso, when Mr. Polk was President, that slavery should exist south of a certain line? No; it might have disturbed the harmony of the party achary Taylor is now President ; that makes the differe

If, by any aggressions on the part of the North, which I do not anticipate, this Union is to be dissolved, I tell gentlemen North Carolina will form no part of a Southern Confederacy, whose ruling politicians entertain opinions like those avowed by some of the Southern Democracy on this floor. We will build our great railroad, and, before we become hewers of wood and drawers of water for Virginia and South Carolina, we will try, trusting in Providence, to stand up, "solitary and alone." They would soon involve us in war on account of black sailors. North Carolina has not been treated by these sisters with kindness or respect. In 1842 South Carolina passed resolutions, and sent them here, reflecting very unbecomingly on North Carolina, and intimating that she was en-couraging abolition, because her people voted against Mr. Van Buren! Time has proved we were right. Virginia, but a few years since, in her Legislature, upon some ques-tion relating to railroads, was so discourteous to North Caro-lina as to call for a proper but dignified rebuke from our Governor, Graham, in his message to our Legislature. Besides, the general tone of the newspapers, and some-times public speeches of gentlemen of those States, prove that regard our people as inferior to theirs. No, sir; if we a Southern Confederacy, let North Carolina go as "Hagar in the desert," rather than in company where she would be regarded as inferior. If Tennessee—our own Tennessee, our daughter—will join us, we can stand against the world in arms. No dissolution could separate us ; we should continue as closely

united as the Siamese twins.

If North Carolina should join a Southern Confederacy with Virginia and South Carolina, her fate would be that of the dwarf who went to war in company with the giant. In one relief they carried the day. In the next the dwarf lost an eye, but his companion aided him, and they were victorious; but the giant appropriated the spoils, and the dwarf's share was glory and the honor of service with the giant. We should not prove dwarfs in any contest; but our treatment after the battle was over would be like that of the dwarf.

I have read recently in a newspaper that a plan has been made, if certain questions are not settled, to break up our organization, by resorting, if necessary, to bowie knives and pistols. I do not believe it. I hope it is a slander. A part of the same slanderous story is, that one-fifth of the members of this House, having a right to call the yeas and nays, will continue to do so; and if that will not succeed to resort to violence. It may sometimes be proper to defeat an attempt to force any measure, without opportunity of debating it, in the manner eferred to-calling yeas and nays, &c. ; but as to resorting to violence, and attempting to stop the wheels of Government by this means, I will not believe any man in his senses ever freamed of it. But, if such a wicked scheme were on foot, I ave a remedy to propose. There are two hundred and thirty ne members of this House : one-third of these is seventy seven ; two-thirds, one hundred and fifty-four. Now, by the onstitution, two-thirds can expel a member. If two-thirds of us do our duty all will be well. A member's privilege protects him, no matter what he says here; but he might be ar-rested for a breach of the peace; and, should any member here resort to violence for such purposes as are referred to in the newspapers, he will soon find himself where he ought to be—

penitentiary. I advise all gentlemen who contemplate schemes of disunion to read Burr's trial. They may find some valuable hints there; they may learn that a man may be guilty of treason, though he may not be corporally present when the overt act is

Mr. Asur. Does my colleague mean that calling the yeas

and navs is treason ? Mr. STANLY. No ; I do that frequently myself ; I refer to newspaper statement of an organized plan to break up the nt by violence.

A word or two now of the proposed Nashville Convention. I see no necessity of any such Convention. I see great reason, since the late demonstration of the Senator from South Carolina, (Mr. Calhour,) why that Convention should not meet, and ought not to meet. He said, in the Southern Address, "be united." Many of his own friends cannot go with him in his proposition for amending the constitution. knows what the Convention will or can do. The proviso will not pass; that is one "test question." There is no possibility that a bill will be passed abolishing slavery in no possibility that a bill will be passed abousning stavery in this District: that, with some, is another "test question. Then, as to fugitive slaves, let us see whether additional legislation will not be granted this session; and that ought to be a test question" for those States who have lost fugitive slaves. Then, as to the admission of California—as to what is called, malic ously, the Executive proviso—be who goes to the Nash-ville Convention to produce opposition to the Government on this account, is no friend of his country, and is in favor of dis-

mion, no matter what Congress does or refuses to do.

Nashville, I should have thought, would have been the last place selected for the meeting of such a Convention. Near the city is the grave of Andrew Jackson. I differed in opinion with this celebrated man as to the propriety of some of his measures while he was President; but he won my highest admiration by his patriotic firmness in putting down nulli-fication in 1833. His services to his country then threw into the shade, or rather added brightness to, his military renown; and if he had rendered no other service to hi country, he would have been entitled to the lasting gratitude of his countrymen.

When that Convention meets, I suppose some Democra will offer a resolution testifying the respect of that body for his memory. What will they say of his administration as What of that admirable message of January 16, 1833, the last paragraph of which deserves to be printed in

let'ers of gold I think it would be an outrige upon the feelings of the people of this country, an insult to the memory of General Jackson, to allow that Convention to meet in Nashville to consider the propriety of dissolving the Union. I do not believe the people of Nashville will permit it; and if that Convention meets, and a proposition is made to consider even whether the Union ought not to be dissolved, I hope the citiens of Nashville will drive every traitor of them into the Cumberland river.

If any of the good people of North Carolina have thought that it might be possibly proper for them to attend that Convention, they will think better of it, I have no doubt, after they read the recent extraordinary speech of a Senator from South Carolina, (Mr. Carnoun.) In that speech he tells us our Government is "as absolue as that of the Autocrat of Russis, and as despotic in its tendency as any absolute Government that ever existed." And then he tells us, what no Southern man has ever thought of before, that in addition to

of their own domestic institutions as they may deem wise and proper. Any and all the States possess this right, and Congress cannot deprive them of it."

In the Southern Address it is said:

It becomes the Southern Address of the Southern Address it is said: in substance, the power she possessed, of protecting herself before the equilibrium between the sections was destroyed by the action of this Government." Was ever a proposition more preposterous? I have tried since the speech was delivered to ascertain what this proposed amendment is, and I cannot. Congress is to obey his suggestions, no matter what they are, to be communicated in this own time? Sir, he asks impossibilities; and I am compelled to believe he asks them because he knows they are impossibilities.

I have heard several speeches here, containing ideas similar to some of those advanced in this speech; we have had little dribbling streams; the spring from whence they sprung is

dribbling streams; the spring from whence they sprung is now exposed to view.

Mr. Chairman, my honorable colleague before me (Mr.

ENABLE) gave utterance to some opinions in his speech which I regret I have not time to reply to. I think my col-league's words are stronger than he intended. He says:
"The bitter waters of strife are about to be substituted for the refreshing streams of patriotic affection." I hope not He wants no "waters of strife." It is not in his nature to enjoy them.

I have time only to refer to one part of my colleague's (Mr. Venable) speech. He says: "The South has kept faith with the North in all things in which the covenant bound them." As far as North Carolina is the South, she

has kept faith; but that is not so with all the South. I sgree with my colleague that we have cause of complaint against some of the Northern States, who have done outrage to the constitution, and treated us shamefully in regard to fugitive slaves. We have cause of complaint on account of their resolutions on the subject of slavery. But some of my colleague's political associates forget that this constitution was framed, not only to protect Southern property, but to encour-age American labor North as well as South. Have we had no warfare against the protective tariff? Yes, for more than twenty years; and, when the compromise bill in 1833 was passed, the home-valuation feature was inserted with the express purpose of giving protection to American manufac-tures. Yet, when the compromise expired, some of our Southern politicians violently opposed the home-valuation feature, and talked of a dissolution of the Union if the protective policy was revived.

Sir, I know better than my colleague, from my the seaboard, the lesses our people have sustained from fugi-tive slaves: and I believe the compromise act, which was passed to gratify or to save from trouble a portion of the South, crificed as many millions of dollars of Northern property the whole South ever lost in thousands of dollars in fugitive slaves. But I will not dwell longer on my colleague's speech He is an amiable gentleman—very companionable—possessing no small literary acquirements. What Goldsmith said of his friend Hickey, I think I can say of my colleague, (Mr. VENABLE :)

"He cherished his friend, and relished his bumper, Yet one fault he had, and that was a thumper"—

not only that of being an attorney, but my colleague is from one of the "double FF V's," a first family of Virginia gentle men, a strict constructionist, republican Democrat of the school of "1798-'99;" and to expect any thing reasonable

politics from such a quarter is most unreasonable.

Mr. Chairman, I must conclude, I have spoken freely; think the times require it. I have not intended to speak of-fensively to any gentleman in this House; but I have spoken what I believe my duty to my country demanded, and I have spoken what I believe to be true.

I have an abiding trust and confidence in the Ruler of Na-

tions, that he will not suffer evil counsels to prevail among us He, without whose knowledge not a sparrow falleth to th ground, will I hope preserve this country, that we shall con-tinue to be an asylum to the oppressed of all lands. I believe that as hundreds of years will have passed by, and generation after generation passed away, in the words of the great defender of the constitution, (Mr. Webster,) "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable," will continue to be a sentiment dear to every true American heart.

Yes, I believe in a special Providence. Washington was preserved through countless dangers, and in one battle had two horses shot under him. "The Great Spirit," as the Indian chief told him, preserved him from harm. He was called on in peace to put down rebellion and preserve the Union. Jackson, too, rendered great and important services to his country in war; and by his firmness in time of peace crushed the spirit of disunion during his administration. And when we remember the long and faithful service of the incorrupti bly honest man—of the patriot soldier now at the helm of State—when we remember how his life was spared, when in the midst of dangers-whose conduct has thrown a blaze of glory on the arms of his country, who can doubt that he will perform his duty to the Union : that " whatever dangers may threaten it," he will "stand by it and maintain it in its in tegrity, to the full extent of the obligation imposed and the power conferred on him by the constitution?" His civil administration. I trust, will be so glorious that it will eclipse his military renown.

Let the storm of party roll on; let politicians carry on their

party manœuvres, the hearts of the Southern people are right. They are watching our deliberations, in the hope that our measures may prove "salutary examples not only to the present but to future times, and solemnly proclaim that the conble." They will say amen in response to me, when I say, God grant the day may never come when I shall behold a citizen of California, Maine, or Florida, and say "he is not my

Mr. Chairman, when the callant Ethan Allen surprise Ticonderoga, and demanded of the commander that he sho surrender the fort, he asked Allen, "By what authority 'I demand it," replied Allen, "in the name of the great

Invoking the protection of the great Jehovah for our whole country, in the name of the people of North Carolina, I say this Union cannot be, shall not be destroyed. Those whom God hath joined together, no man, or set of men, can put

SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES.

MISS MARY P. MIDDLETON will open on Monday, the first of April, in the Lecture Room of St.
Paul's (English Lutheran) Church, corner of H and Eleventh streets, A SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES, in which will

streets, A SCHOOL FOR TOURG LABLES, in which the taught all the branches of an English Education. Less also given in Music, Drawing, Painting, Needlework, &c.

References.

Hon. James Cooper, United States Senate.

Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, House of Representatives, and Rev. J. G. Butler, Pastor of the Church. Testimonials also exhibited to those calling at the School Room on and after said day; or at her father's reside G street, between 8th and 9th. mar 23mar 23-w3t

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LAND TITLES IN CALIFORNIA.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER. GENTLEMEN: I wish to call attention to a portion of that branch of Mr. T. BUTLER KING's report, published in your paper of this morning, entitled "The Public Domain," and

to make some remarks thereupon. The portion I refer to is as follows : "The extent and value of the public lands, suitable for agri-

cultural purposes in California, cannot be ascertained with any degree of accuracy until some very important preliminary questions shall have been settled.
"It is not known whether the Jesuits who founded the mission, or their successors, the Franciscans, ever did, or do now hold any title from the Spanish crown to the lands which they occupied; nor has any investigation been made to ascertain how far those titles, if they ever existed, have been invalidat-

ed by the acts of the priests, or the decrees of the Mexican Government. "A superficial view of the matter would be very apt to lead to the supposition that the Jesuits, so celebrated for wisdom and cunning, would not fail to secure that which, at that time, would probably have been obtained by merely asking for it—a royal decree, granting to them all the lands they might require in that remote country for ecclesiastical purposes. There have been some intimations to that effect, but nothing is distinct-'I known. These missions embrace within their limits some of the most valuable lands in the Territory, and it is very important that it should be ascertained whether they belong to the Government, or may be justly claimed by individuals.

'Most of the land fit for cultivation, south of latitude 39°, and west of the valley of the Sacramento and San Josephin is

and west of the valley of the Sacramento and San Joaquin, is claimed under what purport to be grants from the Mexican

"On most of these grants the minerals and metals are re-'served to the Government. Conditions were coupled with 'many of them which have not been complied with. In others the boundaries described embrace two or three times as much

the boundaries described embrace two or three times as much 'land as the grant conveys.

'The Mexican law required all grants made by the Provisional Government, with few exceptions, to be confirmed by the Supreme Government. The great distance which separated them, and the unfrequent or difficult means of communication, made a compliance with the law so expensive and 'tardy that it came to be almost disregarded."

There are as many errors in the above paragraphs as there First. Mr. King is entirely in error in supposing that the

missions of Upper California (of which, I suppose, his report is intended to treat) were founded by the Jesuis. That order never had an establishment in Upper California. The mis-sions there were exclusively under the charge of the Fran-

Second. He is entirely mistaken in supposing that "it is not known" whether the missionaries "ever did or do now hold any title from the Spanish crown to the lands which they occupied." It is known whether they did or not, and whether

they do or not, and the whole subject is understood.

Third. He is entirely wrong in saying, "nor has any investigation been made to ascertain how far those titles, if they ever existed, have been invalidated by the acts of the priests, or the decrees of the Mexican Government." An investigation has been made which will meet every point that he suggests, though the points themselves are certainly not

logically stated.

Fourth. The "supposition" which he founds on the "celebrated wisdom and cunning" of the Jesuits is erroneous, because, as above shown, the Jesuits had nothing to do with the matter. The Jesuit order was abolished ("extinguished," to use the Spanish phrase) throughout New Spain an-

ed, to use the Spanish phrase infroguent few Spanish terior to the date of any settlements in Upper California.

Fifth. It is a mistake that though "there have been some intimations" of ecclesiastical titles, "nothing is distinctly known." A great deal is "distinctly known." indeed, I believe I may say every thing is "distinctly known" that can

have a bearing upon the question.

Sixth. It is an imputation most seriously and injuriously erroneous, the statement that "most of the land fit for cultivation south of latitude 39° and west of the valley of the Sacramento and San Joaquin is claimed under what purport to be grants from the Mexican Government." This is doubly erroneous; erroneous, and deeply injurious and unjust, in the intimation that the grants are not what they "purport" to be—and erroneous in the supposition that they purport to be "from the Mexican Government." I can say, from the best possible opportunity of knowing the facts, that the bulk of the land grants in California are no other than they purport to be, and that very few are from the Mexican Government. They are from the local government, in pursuance of law given by the Mexican Government. I think, also, when the country shall be surveyed, there will be found a great deal of "land fit for cultivation" still vacant "south of 39° of the Sacramento and Joaquin."

Seventh. I think Mr. King must be in error in the state-

ment that "on most of these grants the minerals and metals ere reserved to the Government." The grants are generally on the same model, and I think it cannot be accurate to say that " most of them" contain any reservation that is not common to all; and I am quite sure that such would be the case with respect to a reservation of the kind Mr. King speaks of

Eighth. Mr. King makes a great mistake in supposing that "the Mexican law required all grants made by the Provisional Government, with few exceptions, to be confirmed by the Supreme Government." If Mr. King means, as I suppose he does, by the term "Provisional Government," the established Territorial (afterwards departmental) Government of California, he is entirely in error in supposing all its grants, "with few exceptions," required confirmation by the Central Government. The authority of the local Government was to make grants in absolute ownership, except in a few specified cases, where the Supreme Government reserved the right of confirming. Mr. King's examination of the whole subject

must have been very slight, or his information very erroneous. I desire to say this much, at present, Messrs. Editors, because I think it would be unfortunate for the impressions calculated to be made by Mr. King's views to ke generally received even for a short time. I am prevented from going more into detail, and explaining exactly what the facts are, because the Report, which it is my duty to make on this subject to the Government, is not yet presented, or quite completed; and I do not think it would be proper to anticipate any portion of it by a publication. Afterward, however, I shall feel at liberty, and, with your leave, will take occasion to examine the who

and, with your leave, will the paper. of that branch of Mr. King's paper. WM. CAREY JONES. Respectfully yours, WA WASHINGTON, MARCH 28, 1850. The Charleston Courier states that the Block of Marble de-

signed as a contribution from the State of SOUTH CAROLINA to the Washington Monument at the National Capital has reached that city from Columbia, where it was prepared, and will remain for a few days for public inspection previous to its being transmitted to the city of Washington.

The trial of Albert G. Gaskins, the young man who was arrested in January last, by a special agent of the Post Office Department, charged with the robbing of the United States mail, took place on Monday last before the Circuit Court of Charleston, (8. C.,) and resulted in his conviction on four separate indictments. He was sentenced to forty years imprisonment at hard labor in Edgefield jail; ten years fo each offence. .

The editor of an Italian paper in New York, the Eco d'Italia, having fearlessly exposed in the columns of his journal a secret society of beggars in that city, known among the Italians as Lazaroni, has been threatend with viclence. Signor SECCHI DE CASALI, the editor, being himself an exile from Italy, desires that the Americans should make a distinction between political exiles and vagabonds, as these Lazaroni are going round with papers containing false statements and forged signatures, representing themselves as persecuted for political opinions and expelled by the Government of Italy. The Eco d'Italia thus speaks of the mysteries of this society: "The Lazaroni are almost all of them from Borzonasca, a village near Genoa; every one of them owns property, which they moregage in order to pay their passage to the United States. Those who manufacture their false papers and keep in this city dens of such vagrants, often send as agent a certain B—— to Genoa, who on his return brings with him some eighty or more Lazaroni; they are instantly provided with papers, and begin the rtrade on the firstday of their arrival. There are women hiring five or six children for so much a day, whom they keep around them, ordering them to sleep and sometimes to cry in order to make people believe that they are suffering from want and misery. Some of these chilthey are suffering from want and misery. Some of these chil-dren, after having wandered all the day, exposed to the rain, cold, and often to the insults of libertines, are flogged on their return home if they have not succeeded in obtaining money. These children are also diseased and sleep on handfuls of

straw with empty stomachs." A COSTLY DWELLING HOUSE IN DUXBURY, MASSACHU-SETTS, DESTROYED .- At 12 o'clock last night, at the house of Hon. G. B. WESTON, in Duxbury, a servant was awakened by the bursting of a water pipe, when he discovered that the house was in flames. He awakened the inmates, who had barely time to escape, saving little even of their clothing. Mr. Weston himself was obliged to procure a pair of boots at a stre near by. The house had been built about six years, and, with adjacent improvements of shrubbery, gardens, &c., cost about \$40,000, on which there was only a small insurance. The fire is supposed to have originated the nursery.—Boston Traveller of Saturday.

BLESSINGS OF BEING SICK .- Adversities are blessings in We know a man who has lived six months on a sprained ankle. He belongs to half-a d zen societies, and draws four dollars a week from each. He once spent a whole summer at Saratoga, on a sore throat. - American.